

Plain English:

In relation to the real and pretended

FRIENDS

TO THE

English Monarchy,

Humbly offered to the Consideration of his
MAJESTY, and his Great Council,
the LORDS and COMMONS in Par-
liament assembled.

The Second Edition :

With a short PREFACE ; and an APPEN-
DIX, concerning the Coronation-Oath admini-
stred to King *James* the Second.

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

London, Printed for the Author, 1690.

Plain English:

In relation to the new and improved

FRIENDS

TO THE

English Monarchy.

Humily offered to the Goodness of
MAYESTY, and his Grace
the Duke and Duchess of
Blenheim.

By J. H. H. H.

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P R E F A C E.

Surrenderers of Charters, Abhorrrers of Parliaments, and of Enquiries into the Popish Plot, and other zealous Asserters of the Divine Right of Arbitrary Power, having shelter'd themselves under the Pretence of being the only Friends to Monarchy; it was certainly no more than needful to wash off those false Colours, with which they have imposed upon Prince and People: to shew that Clergy-Men have preached up themselves chiefly, while they strain'd the Prerogatives of the Crown, but that they have seldom come to the People, but when they have been cast off at Court; and that the Lay-herd which follow them, were either as selfish, or such as Nature cutt out for their Properties, having endued them with no Capacities or Thoughts of their own.

But that these courteous Leaders have been as stiff Opposers of the Wills of Princes as any, when Reason of State has oblig'd Courts to use Methods inconsistent with that separate Interest, which has been carrying on ever since Constantine's Devotion or Bigottry, brought Poyson into the Church: Nor is it a Wonder that Church-Men of our time gave the late King such a Dispensation from the Rigour of the Coronation-Oath, as may be seen in the Appendix, after he had made a Declaration in Favour of the Church of England, as that was for Monarchy; since the large Endowments which Con-

A stantine

stantine conferr'd upon the Clergy in much earlier Days, made him pass for an excellent Christian Emperor, long before he was received into the Church by Baptism.

A Stranger to the Constitution of the Church of England, who observes how the Maintainers of the English Liberties have been declared and declaimed against from Desks and Pulpits, and that a Man cannot demand Justice of the Betrayers of our civil Rights, without being thought to shake the Pillars of the Church; would be apt to think that the Church and State stand upon different Bottoms.

But all who are truly concerned for the Honour of the Church, will surely join in whipping such Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple; and will endeavour to remove these Shelterers from behind the Altar, lest Men should pull that down to come at them,

The Church is never in greater Danger of Profanation, than when it becomes an Asylum, and gives Protection to them that fly from Justice.

It were easy by numerous Instances to shew what Mischiefs have hapned from such Sanctuaries, and yet Gold has often been the most sacred to them that keep them; who have in all Ages been the most complying, or most obstinate, according as they have been humoured or disobliged.

Though Clergy-Men, (the English especially) being for the most part of mean Births, unimproved by Travel, are the worst Politicians in the World, yet no Men have had greater Shares in Publick Counsels and Changes. The Histories of all Ages are fill'd with their Miscarriages, yet they have seldom drawn a greater Load of Contempt upon themselves, than by their late Violences, while the Court and they were well with one another: and nothing but the Insolence of some of them could

could abate that Pity which was natural to the Observation how they were carried hood-wink'd to Destruction, and were made Tools to subvert their own Religion, and the Civil Rights of the People.

This must be said with Truth, that before the Reformation they were more steady to the Interest of England, than they have been since ; and yet their very Changes seem to proceed from the same constant Principle. For as before the Reformation they had their Preferments by Provisions and Bulls from the Pope, they were industrious in enlarging the Power of their Benefactor ; nor did any means seem more conducing to it, than siding with the People against the King, the sole Competitor with their Master ; and, would you think it ? In those Days Clergy-Men were advanced for good Works in the Service of their Country.

Whereas in the two last Reigns the more noisy any of them were in running down those that appeared for the Interest of England, the more certain were they of standing upon the Pinnacle of the Temple : nor will some scruple to say, that some of the pretended Martyrs, in the last Reign, made Proffers of their former Loyalty, if they might be again let loose upon that Party, which had gain'd a little Breathing from their Prosecutions.

Certain it is, that since the Pope has been cast off here, these Men have known where to make their Court : The Disposal of Preferments has a Charm next to Infallibility, which made a Man of much Note in our Church affirm, that Penal Laws ought to be enforc'd against Dissenters, that it may be no Man's temporal Interest to be of a Religion contrary to that of his Prince.

As we should not have had a Reformation at this Day but for the Laitie, 'tis a Question whether some of our Clergy will ever quietly suffer us to cast off those Rags of Popery, which our Princes laid hold on upon disrobing his Holiness.

If the Opposition which many of these now give the present Government, to the Loss of those Advantages which they might enjoy under it, be thought an Objection to what I observe; it is to be considered that the French King is yet powerful, the late King at the Head of an Army, and his Lay-Friends here, not so much discountenanced or discouraged as might have been wish'd or expected. Yet some are already for halving their Principles, and are willing to quit that inseparable Right which they have been contending for, if their Doctrine of Passive Obedience may be admitted to Court in this Reign.

But it is not to be imagined that they who would not have this King reign over them, though they occasioned his Accession to the Throne, as Storms and Tempests make way for fair Weather, should be the Favourites now.

Or that his Majesty should cut the Grass from under his own Feet, by supporting Men and Notions destructive of his just Title.

'Tis really wonderful to observe what Merit some pretend to, for opposing him, and the declared Ends of his Coming.

Yet hardly anything is to be wondered at in this Age, in which the Betrayers of our Liberties set up for Patriots, and even English Men have been disposed to bear the Yoke of Slavery, as the Ordinance of God, and to think Usurpations by Methods and Crimes not to be named without Horror, to be of his Appointment.

Thus

Thus some Men have made God Almighty the Author of Evil, in as gross a Sense as ever they wrested the Expressions of the most rigid Calvinist.

Notwithstanding all that I have mentioned, and other things, over which I have cast a Veil, they now wipe their Mouths with the Whore in the Text, and think themselves clean.

The only Danger to the Government was upon turning the Tables, when Roscius could harrangue no more true Patriots out of their Lives, and those destroying Engines Quo Warrantoes and Innuendoes, with the pernicious Art, which turned Words into Deeds, and a Closet into the House-top, ceas'd and were no more.

None were so likely to maintain the Rights of Corporations and of the Kingdom, as they who treacherously gave them up.

None so able and so eager to defend us against Popery, as they who took care to destroy or weaken all Protestants not of their Swallow.

None so true to the Interest of the Church of England, as they who lay a greater Stress upon its Ceremonies than its Doctrines, and who turned the Popish Plot upon the best of its Members.

None so powerful to perswade the late King to turn Protestant, as they who prayed to God to keep and strengthen him in that Worship which they knew to be false.

None so fit to mind him of preserving the Laws and the Protestant Religion, as they who left him a loophole for Prerogative and Popery in the Coronation-Oath.

Vid. Appendix.

These and many more Particulars, in which it is difficult not to be a Satyrist, argue me in the following Account, to be rather an insensible Stoick, than an angry Cynick.

I know 'tis said I am too free with great Names ; but when such Names are set up against their present Majesties and the publick Good, and when the Example of one of them in refusing the Oath of Allegiance, in Virtue of his adhering to the Doctrine of the Church of England, is recommended to the Imitation of his Admirers by a spruce Chaplain, who talks as if he were preaching over a Martyr's Tomb, from which he expected such Miracles as were believed to be wrought at St. Becket's. At such a time to forbear to write plain Truths, out of an awful Respect to Names and Shadows, would be a declining the Service of my Country.

As it has appeared that they with whom I have taken due Freedom were extoll'd beyond Measure, 'twas but a piece of Justice to others, to shew that they have been as much cry'd down and deprest without Reason ; and rendred Enemies to Cæsar, because they could never look upon him otherwise, than as an indulgent Father of his People ; not such an one as Sir Robert Filmer, his Successor the Observator, and others of that Stamp would advance ; but a Man ordain'd of God for a publick Benefit and Blessing : in short, a King William, and not a King James ; or an English, and not a French or Teaguiſh Monarch.

It may be sufficiently evident by what is here hinted, and in the following Narrative, that none but the Whiggs, that is to say, the moderate both Churchmen and Dissenters, can in Principle be true to the English Monarchy, and to their present Majesties ; while others are in Principle and Practice for the late King ; and for that lawless Exercise of the pretended Rights of Sovereignty, to which they have tempted more Princes than one to their Ruin.

And

And yet when the late King was to fight that Battel, which was the last throw for his Crown, they fetch'd themselves off from Danger with that admirable Distinction, that their Doctrine required only a Non-resisting, but not an assisting Loyalty; and that Non-Resistance is as much as can or ought to be required by the Sovereign Power; by which they always mean the Person of the Prince.

To examine the Grounds of the Opinions maintained on both sides, with all that has been materially urged by either from Reason or Authority; and to shew what Injury has been done to our present happy Settlement by Men of Professions and Principles not fit to defend it, is the Subject of a large Treatise ready for the Press: in which, perhaps, I may incur the Danger of the ipso facto Excommunication pronounced in the Canons of J. 1. against all those Hereticks, who will not believe that we may find an English King in the Old Testament; or that the terrible Description of the way or manner of Kings, by which one would think that Samuel sought to divert the Jews from their intended Choice, was not made for an Example, and Incitement, to the Kings of England, to do things worthy of their Pedegree from Saul.

But they who will not take the Law from the Canons, and the Modes of Worship from the Cathedrals, I fear will hardly pass for true Sons of the Church, be their Conformity never so strict, and their Pains for the Churches Stability and just Extent never so great.

I must declare my self of the Church of England; no Man has a greater Veneration than my self for its Articles and Homilies, or for many of our Clergy-Men, who I am sure cannot think themselves concerned in any thing here.

Indeed

Indeed I always thought the Church to comprehend more than the whole Body of the Church-men; nor, whatever the learned Bishop Sanderson holds, can I believe that the Bishops, Presbyters, and others, chosen by the Clergy, are so much as the Church-Representative, with Power to make Ecclesiastical Laws: I am sure I never gave my Consent to it, nor do I know that God or my Fore-fathers gave them that Authority.

Much less do I believe with Dr. Sherlock, that every Bishop has Right to make Laws, Canons, and Constitutions in his own Diocess; for I must confess, whatever Pretence Bishops may have to be Successors to the Apostles, I should think that the Lay-Brethren should at least be as much interested in Councils now, as they were when the Apostles presided.

Nothing but a Liberty of Printing, given or is-
 can under his Cause from being yet settled
 and his Affairs from being managed on with
 one Reliance, by every honest Friend of Mankind

Plain English.
 I think it better to be plain than to be
 world, and I think it better to be plain than to be
 friends. I think it better to be plain than to be
 world, and I think it better to be plain than to be

Obsequium Amicos, veritas odium parit.

IT has rarely hapned, that **Plain English** could
 steal abroad without being called *Malicious*,
 by them who could not answer it ; or *Libel-*
lous, by them who were deservedly jealous
 of the Press, and therefore the most fitting
 Persons to have the inspection of it.

Hence the Betrayers of their Country, having
 satined themselves with its Spoils, were likely to
 have been transmitted to Posterity, as Men of Me-
 rit for their *Loyalty*. And those *Heroes*, who fought
 it out in the Breaches, and whose Blood has been the
 fruitful Seed of those Liberties we now enjoy, to
 have been robb'd of their due Honours, which would
 have been transferr'd to others, who, as Magpies,
 or such other insignificant Things, cure Agues, were
 thought to have reliev'd their Country, as they hap-
 ned to be the last, tho' the weakest Assertors of its
 Rights.

Past and present Times, shew by what good For-
 tune they were found in that Cause, for which the no-
 ble Lord *Russel* fell worried and unlamented by them,
 and without so much as their charitable Opinion of
 the State in which he died.

Nothing but a Liberty of Printing, given or taken, can hinder his Cause from being yet rendred Vile, and his Ashes from being trampled on, without Rebuke, by every florid *Vindicator* of Murders in Form, but without colour of Law.

Those Times which these Interested Writers would justify, are far from such as *Tacitus* commends, *Wherein a Man might think what he would, and utter what he thought.*

But sure I am, no Age is worthy of such an Historian as *Tacitus*, wherein any Man may not publish without Penalty whatever he will set his Hand to, and for which he stands ready to answer the Law: without Submitting to the partial or weak Judgment of a mercenary Licenser; who will take care that those scurrilous Reflections upon our happy Settlement, and its Worthy Instruments, which he licenses, may pass uncorrected.

For want of fit Liberty, Princes have been abus'd, and Foundations sap'd, without publick Notice: and whoever has seen and ventured farther than others, has been thought justly to suffer for being *righteous over-much.*

Be it as it will: As the Interest of my Country has ever had the Ascendent over my Affections, be That, and Truth, my Licence.

The Cowardise of King *James* the First, as it made him betray the Protestant Interest Abroad, naturally bred in him a Distrust of his People, and servile Compliances with Foreign Princes, from whom he apprehended any Danger. This made him earnestly sollicite a Match for his Son *Charles* with the *Infanta* of *Spain*. The Father's Fears, as it is to be hop'd, rather than the Son's Inclinations, occasion'd that flatt'ring Letter to the Pope which hangs

hangs heavy upon *Charles* his Memory.

And though the Match took not effect, the Papists obtain'd those Advantages, by a cunning management of the Treaty, which were not easy to be retriev'd; and were confirm'd and enlarged by the Marriage with a Daughter of *France*, the mischievous effect of which is visible, in that amazing List, which is to be seen in *Rushworth*, of Papists employed in that Reign in all manner of Offices.

Down-right Popery would not pass with that King, But a *Laudan Prelacy*, or *Brittish Patriarchate*, which was little better, had gotten possession of his Understanding, and prevail'd upon that Prince, who, I believe, was a very good Man, to do those Actions, which if he had not had the Church-men on his Side, would have blackned him, almost as much as the old Monks do any of his Predecessors.

As the Violations in his Time, of the Constitution of the English Government, are by no means to be justified; neither can any Man answer for his Discretion in losing *Scotland*, meerly to gratify the Bishops here: who could not be satisfied with Uniformity in their own Churches, without making *Scotland* damn all that would not believe in *Arrianism*.

The Queen's Party finding the King's blind-side, struck in, with seeming Zeal for the Church of *England*. But that they might secure a Retreat, if that should not prevail, sent some upon the Forlorn on the other side. And, as Bishop *Bramhal* has rightly observ'd, till they came to acquaint one another with the Mystery, many of them were surprized at encountering their Brethren in the Field. This must be said of them, That though their Animosities a-

mong themselves may often proceed to great Heights, they never fail in joining against Protestantcy.

Nor is it now to be doubted, but the Papists animated the Episcopal Party against Scotland, and against the Moderate of their own Members here. And insinuating themselves into the Leaders on the contrary Side, perswaded them to break off all Treaty with a Prince, who would gladly then have yielded very far, and was not of a Religion which could dispense with the breach of Oaths or Promises.

I find no Reason to disbelieve Bishop *Bramhall* and Dr. *Du-Moulin*, vwho offer Proofs, That that King's Death was but in pursuance of Popish Resolutions.

The Anarchy, which followed is a large Blot in our Annals. The wisest of *Cromwel's* Counsellors saw, that this Government could not subsist without Kingly Power. And though his Reputation and Policy, for a while, kept up the *Protectorship*, or *Regency*, 'tis a Question whether the then King of *Scots* would not have turn'd him out, if he had lived a little longer. However, the determination of the other's Power, or any lucky Accident to the King, naturally made way for his reassuming the Regal Authority.

Yet while he was out of Possession, many of those, who upon his Return made the greatest boasts of Loyalty, had either drawn their Swords against him, or servilely flattered the Usurpers. Nor were the Papists the most backward in such Submissions.

No Prince ever came to the Crown with greater Opportunities of making this Nation Happy, and the Protestant Religion the prevailing Interest over Christendom, than K. C. 2.

But

But the ground of our Misfortunes, next to the vow'd Revenge for the Death of the Father, was, That he had renounced the Protestant Religion abroad. The Proof of which is but too strong.

Sir *Allen Brotherick*, who was with that King beyond Sea at the time of his first professing the Popish Religion, has been often heard to lament the burning of his Journal, wherein the very Day and Circumstances of it were entred. And I am assured that one of his present Majesty's Chaplains, (Minister of the Place where Sir *Allen* died) can give an account of his Deathbed-Declaration of what he knew in it; with this additional Circumstance, that it was done in the Absence of the old *L. Culpeper*, who knowing of it at his Return, fell into great Passion, and told the King, he must never expect to see *England* again, if it should be known there.

That Lord knew too much for a Protestant; and it was thought fatal to him to have had no more Jealousy of a Venison-Pasty, than he had entertained of his Master.

The Lord *Bristol*, who pretended, not to be of the Court of *Rome*, though he professed himself of that Church, if he may be believed in what he protested to the House of Commons, had given King *Charles* the same Advice which had been given to *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, If he would be truly Great, to be more a Protestant than he was. And perhaps this kept that Lord from receiving those Advantages, which otherwise his Religion and great Parts would have intitled him to.

But I never heard that it fared the worse with Cardinal *de Rhetz*, for advising that King in point of Prudence to keep to the Religion of his Country.

However *Mazarine's* sanguine Counsel prevailed and how secret soever it was kept, many had got, the hint of it, which occasioned that Act, which made it so highly penal to say, That the King was a Papist.

At his first coming, his famish'd Courtiers were very greedy: And they who had made their Fortunes in the former Turns, or increas'd them by a Neutrality, or compliance against their Principles, to be approved of neither by God nor Man, were best able to purchase Places of Trust and Profit. The old *Cavalier* had nothing but his Merits and Sufferings to plead; which how much soever they weigh'd with the King, were very troublesome to a needy Courtier; therefore they had recourse to two Pretences for turning them off: One was, That others had been us'd to Business, and therefore were more fit for it: The Other, That Reason of State oblig'd the King to win his Enemies, and to trust to the Fidelity of his Friends.

This was the Management, while the general Mart of Offices lasted; and while that King seem'd to have no Inclinations of his own, but to Pleasure, and suffer'd himself to be carried, like a Child with Leading-strings, by his Ministers, and them who by driving away the indigent old *Cavalier*, engross'd the Name of *Royalists*.

The Services of others, who had ventur'd all for their Prince, who they believ'd injured, were past. But as most of them seeing the Tendency of the Queen's Party in the time of *Charles the First*, as much press'd an Accommodation between him and his People, as she dissuaded it; so they were, at the Return, for promoting an happy Settlement of the Nation. But the *Renegadoes*, or new Courtiers, out-
vied

vied them clearly in *Super-Loyalty*, and getting into Parliament, merited their sitting together so long, that they became a Reproach to themselves, and a Burden to the People, whom they loaded with unnecessary Taxes to feed themselves, and the new male and female infamous Courtiers.

They were the Men, who were the Authors of those Laws which press'd so hard upon great part of the Nation, who could not bow so *decently*, and in such *Order* as others.

Who garbled Corporations, and deprived Men of their greatest Civil Rights, for a Ceremony either insignificant, or of too great Significancy: As particularly the Sign of the Cross, which their Canons have declared to be a Ceremony, whereby the Child is dedicated to Christ.

These are they who consented to the Repeal of the *Triennial Act*, which put it out of the power of the Court long to discontinue Parliaments, or to turn them off, when met, in less than fifty days.

These required the Oath, in their Intendment, contrary to the fundamental Liberty of the Nation, whereby they would make the King, and them who are commissioned by him, to be as irresistible, as their Severity against Dissenters would argue the Imposers infallible.

One would wonder how these Men, after they had shewn the Court that they were ready to merit their Pensions, should ever be turn'd off by it.

They saw the Tendency to Popery plainly enough, but they were to make honourable Steps towards it. And therefore the King, not only finding their Salaries chargeable, but that they had some nice Punctilio's of Honour to be salv'd, propounded to them the granting him such a Revenue for Life, as might
ease

ease their trouble of meeting for the future; which made them first look about them to secure the continuance of their Salaries: And from that time, being jealous that their Master was not so sincere towards them, as their Truth to his separate Interest might require, they began to think of their being *English-Men*.

But to return to the former part of that Reign.

Was it not enough to raise any Man's Indignation, to observe that King, often pointing at a threadbare Cavalier, who had wasted his Fortune, and most of his Blood, in the Service of his Father and Himself, to tell his Courtiers, *There goes as brave a Man as ever drew Sword in our Quarrel*; and yet not to relieve him from starving.

The Papiſts, who under-hand played the Puppets which came upon the Stage, heightned the Resentments of some for former Sufferings, and the Jealousies of others, lest many should share with them. And as the King could have an easy Absolution for breach of his Word at *Breda*, the prevailing Faction gave him Colour for it, by taking the Matter upon themselves.

And to countenance their not coming to *that Temper*, which the Nation expected, the first Sham-plot was raised upon Protestants: Great numbers of them were imprisoned without pretence of Law, but merely for sighing for Liberty, or shaking their heads at the mistaken Change. The Commitments were so illegal, that they were forc'd to make an Act to indemnify them for this violent Oppression of innocent Men; not being then so harden'd and flesh'd with Successes against the *English* Liberties, to be past fear, as they were upon the like Violences afterwards.

But though themselves admitted their Proceedings to have been Lawless and Arbitrary, they had their desir'd Effect, in making severe Laws pass with ease against a sort of Men, whom they rendred Traitors to that Power which seem'd till then to protect them with an Equal Hand.

These for a long time bore the Brunt, till their Preachers being driven from them, their Trade stop'd, civil Priviledges ravish'd, and Families ruin'd, they were forc'd within the Church Walls; and no doubt but Jails, Fines, and Excommunications, aided with the Secular Power, are, next to French Dragoons, the most ready way to make involuntary Conversions.

But whether these were in earnest or no, this Peace, though never so uncertain, was contrary to the Designs and Interest of the first Movers at Court, Who unless they could play one Party of Protestants against another, found they must yield to common Protestancy.

The Court therefore with such a stretch of Prerogative, as was in the time of *James* the First, exercised, in different Instances, by the Applause of the *Church-Men*, gave a general Toleration: Which some perhaps were so foolish as to own from the grant of the Crown. Others were glad that what they always thought allow'd by God, when it might be done without Sacrifice, was become safe and seasonable.

Upon this, the Pulpits took the Alarum; they who had advanc'd an unlimited Prerogative, distinguish'd away their own Doctrine, which being new, seem'd to bear the greater Latitude of Interpretation: The Ecclesiastick Drums called their Party to the Field; And they either wheedled or

out-voted the confiding Men who wish'd well to the general ease of the Protestant Subject : and understood not their Art, who were forward for it, to get an opportunity to betray it.

The King finding he could not help his beloved Papists that Way, again fell in with the Church ; and great were the Endearments, which pass between them. The Duke of *York*, who acted with a pretended Compassion for those Protestants which were oppress'd, was seemingly discountenanced. The Ministers of State, even *Clifford* himself, (who profess himself a Papist at his Death) were zealous Sons of the Church of *England*. The Church and the Crown vied with each other in Complements ; The Crown made every Ceremony sacred, and the Church fetch'd every abuse and enlargement of Power from Heaven.

In the mean while the Court were under-hand carrying on a deep Design against the Protestant Religion, and the true Constitution of the Government. But *Rome* more subtle, gave so many several Parts, and it's Emissaries were so faithful to their hellish Sacraments of Secrecy, that Plotters justified Plotters in the dark. And the King, who thought himself worthy to be trusted with the whole Secret, began to start from them, at the discovery of their Design to take him off, as not having obstinacy or blindness enough to run over all the rubs which lay in the way to the publick Profession of their Religion : for which the Jesuits thought all things Ripe.

The *King*, like one rous'd from a Lethargy, seem'd to have a new Life, and to infuse Spirits into the Nation ; the generality of which distrusted as little as they were Guilty. But when day-light was
let

let into their Designs, almost all professing themselves Protestants, join'd in prosecuting the Plot, till some tracing it to *Whitehal* and *St. James's*, durst not move further.

Others fearing the Effects of that general Union among Protestants, dangerous to Arbitrary Power, and to Engrossers of Preferments in Church and State, which that was likely to occasion, used all their Art and Industry to stifle or baffle the Discoveries, till at the last they turn'd the Plot upon them who ventur'd furthest in unmasking the Plotters.

'Tis well known who oppos'd bringing them to Justice; Nor is it to be doubted who were at that time most Friends to the Liberties of the Subject. The *Habeas Corpus* and Test-Acts, which King *Charles* his Fright obliged him to Pass, were yielded to the importunity of the *Whiggs*, vvho vv ere known to have the far greatest Majority in Parliament, vv hile the others, tho vv ith unequal Numbers, fought it out vv ith their wonted obstinacy against vv hat vv as so displeasing to the Court, and vv ith great Solicitation, they got their beloved Duke, (vv hom they knew to be a Papist) excepted out of that noble Act, vv hich otherwise vv ould have turned him out of the House of Lords.

Being got rid of these Liberty and Property-Men, they fell to Fining, Imprisoning, Murdering, and Assassinating those vv ho durst be honest at the hazard of their Fame, their Fortune and their Lives. And had King *Charles* liv'd but one Year longer, giving countenance to the barbarous Insolencies of those vv ho deservedly have been called *Tories*, *England* had been as a great Slaughter-house, and the Quarters of its best Patriots had been hung

up in all publick Places, to shew Men howv dangerous it was to prefer ones Country before the humour of a prevailing Faction.

Then Court-Divinity and Law had almost run down Religion and Civil Right.

A Conformity to the fashionable Mode of Worship was prest, as necessary to Salvation; and whoever denied that the *King* could *make Laws* of his sole Authority; Or, that the *Sovereign Power* which *makes, repeals, and dispenses* with Laws, was inseparable from his Person, was thought no good Christian, or good Subject.

The *Scripture* was thought to teach the Law of the Land, that to give Authority to *Scripture*, and the *King* to both. Nor is it to be wondred, that Men of ductile Reasons should hold this, when it was affirm'd by one of the Leaders, that *If the King be God's Vicegerent, he is upon that account as much above all, as God is.*

These strains of Loyalty from the *Pulpit*, were echoed back from the *Benches* at *Westminster*, and in the Country, and followed vvith inhuman Worryings of all Opposers, till the late King mounted the Throne, vvith the universal Acclamation of that Set of Men, vvho vvere in such a transport of Joy, that one vvould be tempted to think that they savv the Day vvchich their Wishes, Prayers, and Endeavours had mark'd out as the utmost limit to their Desires.

That *King*, as he had reason, fell a courting that Party, vvchich had not only secur'd the Crown to him, but put it in great measure into his Power to manage, according to the Absoluteness of his Inclination; not only by the Advantages over the Constitution vvchich they had put into his Hands, but

but by the *Salvo* for Prerogative, which some of them knew to have been added to the Coronation-Oath, without allowable Precedent or Pretence. *Vid. Appendix.*

And though they were much displeased that he should so soon unmask, and take away the Colours vvhich they vvvere fond of, for imposing upon their credulous Party the Belief of his being a Protestant; vvhereby he depriv'd them of that Reputation vvith vvvhich they pretended to serve the *Church of England* of Arbitrary Power: yet still they vowed Lives and Fortunes. And they vvho knew vvhat Reserve had been in his Coronation-Oath for a Prerogative above or besides the Law, thought themselves obliged to pay that Obedience which they fancied he vvvas thereby intituled to exact, as if a Coronation-Oath perverted by a Confederacy, could alter the Condition of an *English King*. *Vid. Appendix.*

When the valiant Duke of *Monmouth*, (vvho vvith the Roman *Marcellus*, experienc'd the *short and unhappy Caresses of the People*;) vvvas drawn into the Snare laid for him, they not only inculcated the Duty of Fighting to maintain the late King in his Station, (vvvhich many of them think themselves not obliged to, in relation to this,) but vvwithout any Regard to Proof or Justice, join'd in, or encouraged the clapping up all, vvho by their knowvn Zeal for the Religion and Lavvs of their Country, gave them the least Apprehension of an Inclination to join vvwith the *Duke*, or to rescue the Constitution from them vvho had long made a Prey of it.

And if any Men had the Hardiness to move for an *Habeas Corpus*, the exorbitant Bail which was requir'd at their Discharges, and the recording it as entred into, for the good Behaviour; when no such thing was mentioned at the time, nor would have

have been consented to, made the Remedy worse than the Disease; nor would the binding over to this in a Court above suffice, but the same thing was required over again in the Country; every Man knows to what end this was, and how industrious they were to make, or find Pretences of Breach of the good Behaviour. — *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,*

Et quorum pars magna fui. —

The unhappy Duke was led to the Block, and his Principles in relation to Civil Power, triumph'd over on the Scaffold, by Men who might have entertained him with Subjects more suitable to their Office.

The late King, heady in all his Enterprizes, thought by the Conquest of *Monmouth*, the general Submission of the Clergy to the Ecclesiastical Commission, that Iron Rod which hung over them, the Doctrine of the *Pulpit*, and Surrender of Charters retaken, with Power for him to displace Officers at Pleasure, till they might be cull'd to his Mind; he might do all things which the Cause of Holy Church required: and well he might, if he had but hit the right Key; Considering that the most extravagant Notions for absolute Power had been more than Speculations, and were reduced and preach'd into Practice, even while there was an immediate Prospect of his succeeding to the Crown, and acting all for the introducing of Popery, which hair-brain'd Priests could inspire into a resolv'd Bigot.

To the Divine Right of Succession, whatever the Supreme Law, the Safety of the People may require, a Right which they would allow no Law, Fault or Forfeiture, to alter or diminish, he owed his Crown, and to their other Illusions the Opportunity and Temptation to do more towards accomplishing his

Ends

Ends, than the just Prerogatives of the Crown could countenance, or the Courage of his Party otherwise attempt.

And while the noblest Patriots were singled out for Destruction, the People, like the hardned Jews, headed by their Priests, were taught to cry, *Crucify, Crucify.*

During which Ferment, the Fundamental Rights of the Nation were, with Safety to the Managers, shatter'd and betrayed by unprejudiced Judgments, for the Dissolution of Corporations, and dispensing with Laws; treacherous Surrenders of Charters, contrary to Oaths to maintain their Priviledges to their Powers: which had certainly obliged Men to load the Courts of pretended Justice with the extorting them all, and not to commit that Ill themselves, which they might fear from others.

I know they will say that many of them had not Money to make Defences: which could be no Pre-
tence for giving greater Countenance to the Designs of the Court by a Surrender, than they could have had by Judgment by Default.

The most would extenuate their Guilt, as if it would have been to no Purpose to hold out, but dangerous to provoke a Court resolved upon having them one way or other.

These Men ought to consider that the Success the Court had in this Enterprize, was owing to the Encouragement many of themselves gave in Practice as well as avowed Principle. And if all had given what Delays they could, in all Probability it had defeated the Design: However they ought to have expected God's Blessing in doing their Duty; and whoever omitted it out of Fear of provoking Men in Power, may, with Mr. *Hobs*, make the outward

Acts

Acts even of God's Worship, to depend upon the Pleasure of the Prince.

But herein lay that *King's* Misfortune, notwithstanding the voluntary Sacrifices made to his black Purposes, that though he might have made sure Work of it, by going on in the former Methods, and still playing the prevailing Party upon them, whom they were ready enough to crush under their Feet : These Methods were likely to be slower than could consist with that immediate Freedom for the Exercise of the Popish Religion, and employing Popish Officers, which his Engagements to *France*, and to his own Priests, urg'd him to.

This prompted him to impute his Deliverance from the Duke to the Assistance of Papists, more than Truth, or the forward Merits of others would bear, and to declare that he would not be deprived of their Services by that Law which incapacitated them. To give the Papists the Praise, and the rest of the Loyal Men the Apprehension that their Services would but make way for others more acceptable, might well make them look about them : And yet they proffered Licence to as many Popish Officers as the King for their particular Merits should name, in vvhich case he vvould be sure not to have been sparing, but he justly expected more from them who were not used to deny any thing which he desired.

† If the sole Reason for refusing the King's Proposal, had been the Breach of Law implied in it, 'tis not unlikely but they vvould as vvell have taken Notice of the assuming a Revenue by Law determined, before it was resettled.

But they differing upon Terms, from thattime the Pulpits and Prefs began to change their Note ; then the Doctrine of Passive Obedience vvvas to be evaded

evaded and distinguish'd into nothing, a not concerning the Constitution of our Government, or a confessing that Clergy-Men had gone beyond their Sphere. And the asserting that no Laws can derogate from the Power of the Prince, vvas to dwindle into the Meaning no more, than that the Prince does not forfeit his Power if he goes beyond them. And though all the Rights of the Sovereign Power vvhich *makes, repeals, and dispenses* with *Laws*, vvas maintained to be so inseparable from his Person, that his *most illegal Commands had the Authority of Sovereign Power*; Yet the *Dispensing Power* was denied to have been ever allowed by them: And indeed they did not expect to have had it so soon turned against them that gave it.

Yet all this while the Principles were not renounced, but lay like *Goliath's Sword*, for the Use of the Sanctuary. And as without the Spirit of Prophecy, it was foreseen that it would be us'd again upon occasion, the present Use of it as a Spiritual Weapon of some, vvho vvould appropriate the Church of *England* to their Faction, even against this Government, may sufficiently justify the reminding them of the Service it did them in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and at the beginning of his Brother's.

And he who observes how proud some are of that Off-scouring which they seemed to cast away, will not condemn those Freedoms with such Men, which the Cause of our Country makes necessary.

It must be owned that some Dissenters, and others who had signalized themselves by their Sufferings for their Country, finding a Relaxation of those Severities under which they had laboured till they were spent, acted like Men newly come out of a

dark House. Their Eyes were dazled, and their Heads turn'd round at the surprizing Change.

These fawn'd upon the late King, almost as grossly as their Oppressors had done. And they either basely, or imprudently, promis'd to promote the Repeal of those Laws which were the best Fence they then had against Popery, vvithout providing for any other Security.

Some, 'tis likely, thought to over-reach the Court by such mental Reservations as are ever to be condemned. Others being too far transported with Resentment, were rather for putting themselves into the Hands of Papiists, whose Cruelties they had only read in Story, or heard of at a distance, than into theirs, who they were sure would shew them no Mercy.

These Men I must leave to inherit their own Shame. But I believe they are as few, as Men who deserve the Name of *Regulators*, who went from Corporation to Corporation, to model them after the Humour of the Court. Whose Parts admit of butt two Excuses.

The First is, That what they did was according to a Power given the King, by those very Men who complain of it.

The other is, That if the chief Rule was to take in Men of the Interest opposite to them who had been in Power, in all probability it was the Occasion of having the Corporations in much better Hands than they had been in. And that they would be more regardful of their Oaths than the Surrenderers had been. Besides it is to be observed, that few if any came in but upon the regular choice of Surrenderers, who continued in till they had admitted enough to turn themselves out.

The most of them who have gone under the Character of *Whigs*, were such, whom no consideration whatever could draw an Hair's breadth from what they conceiv'd to be the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of this Nation. But knowing how easy and natural it was for the old Fondness between the Court and Pulpit, to return upon the least yeilding on either side; to prevent that Ravage which must have been the Consequence of new Acts of Love between them, when each must have given proof of their Sincerity, by Sacrificing to the others Humours and Passions, they took Commissions and other Offices, from which the former Possessors were lawfully displaced, either as their Grants had been at the first, only during Pleasure, or as their own treacherous Surrenders had made those which they had by Election as precarious. Though they could not give up the Rights of others, they no doubt divested themselves.

Many therefore very honestly and legally succeeded into their Places, hoping thereby to be in Posts which might give them some Advantage of Authority to serve their Country upon Emergencies. But still they qualify'd themselves as the Law requir'd.

They were assur'd that it was in the Power of the Court to lure their old Friends when it pleas'd. And upon a Reconciliation, totally to enslave the Nation, notwithstanding the continuance of Penal Laws and Tests, by renewing some Commissions every three Months, taking in Papists, who might have Dispensations for all manner of Oaths, or others who would regard no ties of Religion: Or else by acting to such height, as might remove all Dangers of the Execution of the Law.

Upon which Considerations, several who had appear'd the forwardest in the Cause of God and their Country, declar'd a readiness to consent to the quitting those distinguishing Laws, provided they might have such in lieu of them as they should chuse.

This *Dilemma* was then familiarly us'd ; Either such a Security as we propound to our selves, will be granted, or it will not. If it will be granted, No Man who considers the Disposition of them, who before were in the Government, and the ancient Constitution which they had violated, can deny, but if the Constitution could be restor'd, it would be a greater Security to the Nation, and Protestant-Interest, unless we tamely yielded it up when we were enabled to maintain it, than could be deriv'd from the particular Laws with such Men to guard as had before betray'd them ; and the care about those Laws, vvhich could signify nothing, but as they were supported by the Fundamentals, was but the adorning some inward Rooms, while the Foundation was undermined, and the Edifice falling.

But if, upon the Treaty, such Terms could not be obtain'd, after the proffer of whatever we could desire, (and surely we might well desire the Restitution and Security of Fundamentals) such denial must apparently tend to the Confusion of the Propounders, who then must be left to stand upon their own Legs, when they demonstrated to all the World, That Popery was not only their Design in all, but vvhat they would carry on, at the utmost hazard, by themselves and Foreign Force.

Indeed, to three sorts of Men this Treaty seem'd dishonest.

1. To them who believ'd that the Power which had been ascrib'd to Princes was *inseparable* from their Persons ; that vvhatsoever legal Limits vvere

set to that Ocean, might of right be overflow'd
vvhen they thought fit. And that they vvho endea-
vour'd to give Bounds to it, not only unreasonably
distrusted God's Providence, but acted contrary to
his Ordinance.

2. To them, vvho alvvays consulted their own
Fears, or other Passions as vvweak; and knowing that
it vvvas Criminal in themselves to enter upon any
Treaty vvith their Prince, because of their com-
mon inability to deny any thing vvwhich he should
insist upon, (vvwhich vvvas evident enough in their
giving up Charters for Fear of provoking) vvould,
like Mr. *Hobbs*, make their ovvn timid frail Na-
ture a Rule to Mankind; as if they vvho had upon
all Occasions shevv'n, that neither the most dismal, or
the most flart'ring Prospects could alter their Resolu-
tions, should, of a suddain, receive a transfusion of
Sheeps Blood from the others, and their Veins had
svvallov'd up all the Manhood.

3. To them vvho vvvere for Ingvrossing all Eccle-
siastical and Civil Preferments to themselves, and
Men of their *Super-conformity*, and therefore vvvere
for keeping all things upon the same narrow Bot-
tom; lest if there vvvere a Relaxation of Terms or
Penalties, even to Protestants, there should have
been too many Sharers in those Benefits vvwhich
made them cry so loud for the Church of *England*
by Law establish'd. By vvwhich many of them
meant, not so much the Common Protestant Reli-
gion profess'd in this Nation, as those Distinctions,
vvwhich vvwhile they enrich'd one Party of Protestants,
disabled all others from assisting against the Com-
mon Enemy, and loaded the Men of Noise vvwith
Demeritis his Character.

If this Protestant Nation had, during the last
Reign

Reign, had the guarding their Religion and Laws, in such a manner, as not only the Wisdom of Parliaments might provide, but our Constitution has allow'd at all times, vvhhen all confidence between Prince and People vvas broken, could it be imagin'd that in this Age of Light, Popery could have made such advances as it did, vvvith that straining of Prerogative, to vvhich the Court had been encouraged, even vvhhen it vvas as evident that it was intended, as when it rashly appear'd barefac'd.

Nor can they who were for Expedients to secure the Succession to a Papist in Reversion, justly condemn such points of Liberty as have often been obtain'd of Possessors, as Matters of meer Right; or else, as such, left to the People undisputed.

The particulars I forbear to mention, not because I cannot shew and prove them; but because some of them have long lain buried in the venerable Ruins of Antiquity, and ought not to receive Prejudice in being named, when one cannot stay to clear the Honour of their Descent.

Much less can they, who were or are for Receiving the *abdicated King*, with or without Terms, upbraid those who were for Treating, before they knew of his *present Majesties* generous undertaking our Rescue.

And when it was to be apprehended, that if the late King could have the Advantage of taxing all Parties with an obstinate Refusal, to listen to Terms for their Security, the Numbers of Irish which were actually here should have been follow'd by French Dragoons: and he might have gain'd the same advantage over those who would listen to no *Equivalents* or *Expedients*, which it is but too visible that his Brother did.

No.

Nothing more exposes a Party, than to find those very things in which they seem'd to place the essential Difference from all others, to be quitted by them, as soon as Interest changes. Who therefore could chuse but smile to observe, that some who had urg'd, that Princes ought to be obey'd in all their Commands, not contrary to God's Law, should refuse to read the Declaration for Liberty to Dissenters?

That they who blam'd Men for undutifully setting Princes, should, when they were well-back'd, make Overtures little short of the nineteen Propositions to C. 1 ?

Or that they, who must admit that our Dissenting Bishops did not scruple inviting the Prince of *Orange* to take the Government upon him, before the late King left the Kingdom, should contend, that they are the only true Sons of the Church, who left all things to God's Providence, without interposing themselves till he was actually gone ?

Or who could have expected that that Bishop, who but a little while before, had rebuk'd a very worthy and prudent Divine for preaching against Popery, should have been one of the Seven ?

Or that he who mightily applauded the late King's League with *France*, as a proper means to curb the Fanaticks, should have been another ?

Or that he who maintained the *Real Presence*, in such a manner, as gave offence to the greatest Admirers of his Monkish Sanctity and Gesticulations, and gave countenance to the praying to Saints, by what he publish'd of their Intercession for us, while we celebrate their Memories, should have been a Third ?

Or that the Duke of *Tork's* Chaplain in *Scotland*, whose Depth was fathom'd by Mr. *Marvel* in his *Parson Smirk*, should have been a Fourth ? I

I would by no means derogate from the Action, or rather Suffering, it was great for the Persons, lucky in the time, and crown'd with an Event, which it appears that some of them neither desired nor deserved.

But methinks it is not to be indured, that Ages of Sufferings in others, greater in Birth, and in all things truly praise-worthy, should be nothing in comparison with what befel them. The fulsom Praises which are given them for the first Act of that kind, would make one think, it was admir'd only for the Rarity, or extolled beyond measure out of a pious Design of encouraging Men too backward in the Cause of their Country, to go on in the right Path to Fame.

But they must not expect that it will be as popular for them to stand off from this Government, as it was to have contributed towards it.

Some who have been great Losers and Sufferers from the Violence of former Times, take a liberty of saying, That some Men deserve a Reputation for the opposition which they gave to a Popish King, no otherwise than such as herd with, or connive at Robbers, till they come to divide the Spoil, and then fall from them and make Discoveries, because they are not allowed that share which they merited.

However I think they are much more to be prais'd than they who either make some express *Salvo* at the taking of the Oath of Allegiance to Their Majesties, or declare that 'tis implied; and that notwithstanding their Oaths, they may rebel without incurring Damnation. Nor are they obliged to assist with their Persons or their Arms, to keep this King in his Station.

Which may deservedly give a Jealousy of many who promise *Fidelity* to the King, according to their

their Oaths, in which some are guilty of as notorious Equivocations as the Jesuits: and this is the rather to be suspected, because some of them absolutely refuse to thank His Majesty for the Deliverance which he has vouchsafed us. If it be said, that the Church of *England* is not concerned in this. I would gladly know how it could otherwise have subsisted, and how long it could stand upon an Interest divided from all other Protestants; I say not merely Protestant Churches, because some will allow of no Church where there is no Bishop, as appears plainly enough in the warm Author of *Vox Cleri*. Some of these, contrary to what our Saviour tells us of his *Kingdom*, would have it to be of *this World*, and fear lest if the Terms of Church-Communion should be more comprehensive of Protestants, they whom they call the only true Sons of the Church should be out-voted, or of less Esteem. Certain it is that the *lax* Interpretation of the Oath of Allegiance, which some of them make and publish, gives such an advantage to the Enemies of the *State* to betray it, as no wise Government will suffer.

Two Questions may arise upon this transient view of Affairs past and present.

1. Which of the divided Parties, either *Whig* or *Tory*, have all along been truest to the Interest of *England*?

2. Which is most likely to be firm to this Government?

It must be admitted that each Party will reject some of their own side, as Reproaches to them.

The *Whigs*, those who trusted wholly to the late Court; or, whoever they are, if any such can be found, who prefer a *Common-wealth* before a *Monarchy*,

narchy, and are for altering this Form of Government, which the Wisdom of past Ages has moulded as equally, as perhaps ever any was; for some *Utopian State*, or other vain *Chimera's* of their own Brains.

The *Tories* will now at last reject the Guide to the inferiour Clergy, and numbers of his Followers.

But when the Bishops Imprisonment shall vie with the Deaths of the Lord *Russel*, Col. *Sydney*, Mr. *Cornish*, or even Mr. *Colledg*, (who wanted nothing but Quality to make him great living and dying): Then shall the coming into Offices by virtue of the Surrender of others, or declar'd readiness to quit some particular Laws of known benefit, for the sake of securing the Foundations, be a Crime equal to Surrenders of Charters, and the most outrageous Violations of the Liberties of the Subject.

Neither Party must be judged of by the Extravagancies of some of them; and both will cast off them who have been sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other; and are to be found constant in neither.

But for a true Judgment of them both in relation to past Transactions, before his present Majesty's Landing, it is to be enquir'd,

1. Which was most zealous in prosecuting the Popish Plot, notwithstanding all the Terrors which encompass'd it?

2. Which made the most useful Laws? And, whether the *Habeas Corpus*, and *Test-Act*, or the Acts for unnecessary and burdensom Taxes, regulating or garbling Corporations, against the Religious Assemblies of numbers of good Protestants, for settling the

the *Militia* with such Powers as are thereby given, and the Court-Oath, and that which repeals the Triennial Law, were most for the good of the People?

3. Which Party when in Power us'd it most according to Law? Or which strain'd the Law, or the Prerogative for subverting the Fundamental Constitution of the *English* Government?

4. Which sort of People, 'tis most for the honour of this Government to employ; They, who if admitted in, would raise a Jealousy in the People, that the old Instruments of Oppression are made use of, for the former ends? Or they, who always kept to the Laws, even while they were in Power, and while they lay under the Feet of Men without Mercy, suffer'd, though not with the Applause which the Bishops met with, yet with the true courage of Confessors.

It may further deserve Consideration, Whether Men of those Arbitrary Principles which the others profess at this Day, will suffer this Government to be defended, as it was founded, upon the true Principles of Civil Right?

If their Principles are right, the late King could not act more arbitrarily than he had Divine Warrant for, and consequently all the proceedings against him were groundless.

In relation to what has occur'd since his present Majesty appear'd here, in vindication of the Cause and Rights of the good People of *England*;

It may be considered,

1. Who were for the Regency, *Whigs* or *Tories*?
2. Whether they who were for a *Regency*, were not so, upon the belief that the late King's Royal Power did remain?

3. Whether such must not, if they are true to their Principles, suppose the late King still to be King *de Jure*, and consequently look upon this as an Usurper?

4. For a trial therefore which are for the Government; Suppose the late King should land with *French* and *Irish* Forces; and his present Majesty, as he certainly would, should march to give him Battel.

Which is it to be presum'd, if left to their Liberty, would venture all on his Side against the other? Would the Men for the *Regency* act against their inviolable Monarch, from whose Person the Sovereignty is inseparable? No surely, *Touch not mine Anointed* would bind up their Hands as with a Sacred Spell.

'Tis the known persuasion of such Men, *That People are made for Kings, as the Conveniencies of Life for the use of Men*: And therefore they have a Rule, That while a King is kept out of his Kingdom, his presumable Intention is to Govern: And as it is to be presum'd, that he would have his People preserv'd till a good time for his Return, they ought to sit still while a Force is over them: But are to do nothing which may tend to his prejudice. How far that Rule has been observ'd, may be a proper Subject for a Second Paper.

APPENDIX.

IF what I have before observed be true and rightly applied, I hope none that judg by Reason and not by Parties, will condemn me for placing those things in a true Light, which otherwise might occasion a Relapse into that State from which we are but newly recover'd, if we are yet recovered.

If the naming the Extravagancies of past Times be Madness, as some are pleased to censure it, what was the committing them? That Intemperance needs small Apology, which Excess of Truth justifies, if not requires.

Indeed, to speak or write *Plain English*, is not Discretion, when a general Corruption has gain'd the Force of Law : but if the like Caution withhold all Men, and they shall think it well with the Publick while they are at ease, they will be but like careless Passengers, who sport themselves in a gilded Cabin, while the Ship is sinking.

I would gladly know which is the happiest Man, he who dies with the first in the Defence of his Country, or he who having surviv'd the Funerals of his Relations and Friends, at last resigns himself to that Slavery, which honourable Death or Victory might have prevented.

As *Juvenal* observes of old *Priam*,
Longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
Eversa, & flammis Asiam ferroq; cadentem.

Of all those Particulars which the Service of my Country obliges me to publish, perhaps nothing seems more improbable than that some of our Church, who upon pretence of adhering to the Laws of this Government, disown the Power which requires an Oath of Allegiance to a Protestant King, should themselves assume or act under a Power assum'd over one of the Fundamentals of the Government, to give a Popish King a pretence to set aside the Laws which should have been sworn to without reserve: or that they should disown that very King's Power to dispence with late Laws, and yet join in the exercise of as great a Power over a Law mix'd and interwoven with the Constitution of the Government.

That the Coronation-Oaths have generally for substance been the same from the very Foundations of the Government, must not be denied: the Oaths of the most general Expressions implying as much as those that are more particular; not but that sometimes the *Lords* and *Commons* have prevailed upon Kings before their Coronation to swear to some Charter drawn up for the present time, expressing some Rights which before had been controverted. Accordingly *Matthew Paris* shews a memorable Contest, 28 *Hen. 3.* for a Charter which was sworn to at one of that King's three several Coronations.

But that these Oaths cannot without incurring a *Premunire* or higher Punishment, be altered or administered by Authority, deriv'd from any Power less than the Legislative, is evident from the nature of the thing.

Whether such a Power has been usurp'd by others or no, let the following Forms speak.

King

**King Edward the Third's
Coronation-Oath.**

1 Edw. 3. pars 1. m. 24.
dorfo.

Arch-Bishop. **S**ire, Voles vous
Bisshop. **S** granter et gar-
der, et per vestre serement
confirmer au Poeples Den-
gleterre les Leys et les Cu-
stumes a eux grantes per les
aunciens Rois Dengleterre
vos Predecessors, droitus
et devotz a Dieu et nome-
ment les Leys, les Custu-
mes, et les Franchises
grantee au Clerge et au
Poeples, par le glorious
Roy Sr. Edward vestre
Predecessor.

King, *Jeo les grante et
promette.*

A B. Sire, Garderez
vous a Dieu et a seinte E-
glise et au Clerge et au
Poeples, et accord en
Dieu entirament salons ve-
stre poiar?

K.

**King James the 2^d's Co-
ronation-Oath.**

*Liber Regalis apud Decanum Westmest.
And Sandford's Account of the Coro-
nation.*

Arch-Bishop. **S**IR, Will you
Bisshop. **S** grant and keep
and by your Oath con-
firm to the People of Eng-
land the Laws and Cu-
stoms to them granted by
the Kings of England your
lawful and religious Pre-
decessors, and namely the
Laws and Customs and
Franchises granted to the
Clergy by the glorious
King S. Edward your Pre-
decessor, according to the
Laws of God, the true
Profession of the Gospel
established in this King-
dom, and agreeing to the
Prerogative of the Kings
thereof, and the ancient
Custom of this Realm.

King, I promise and
grant to keep them.

A B. Sir, Will you
keep Peace and godly
Agreement intirely ac-
cording to your Power,
to the holy Church the
Clergy and the People?

K.

K. Jeo les garderai.

A B. Sire, Freez vousz
fair en toutz voz juge-
mentz ovele et droit justice
et discretion en misericor-
de et verite a vestre poiar ?

K. Jeo les fray.

A B. Sire, Grantez vous
a teiner les Leys et les Cu-
stumes droiturels les quelz
le Communate de vestre
Roiamme aurai eslu et les
defendrez et afforcerez al
honneur de dieu a vestre poi-
ar ?

K. Jeo les grante et
promette.

Mr. Pryn's Epistle to
his third Tome.

This without any o-
ther Interrogation, Ad-
monition, or Clause con-
cerning maintaining and
defending the holy
Church and her Liber-
ties.

K. I will keep it.

A B. Sir, Will you to
your power cause Lavv,
Justice and Discretion in
Mercy and Truth, to be
executed in all your
Judgments.

K. I will.

A B. Sir, Will you
grant to hold and keep
the rightful Customs
which the Commonalty
of this your Kingdom
have ; and will you de-
fend and uphold them to
the Honour of God so
much as in you lieth ?

K. I grant and pro-
mise so to do.

*The Request or Petition of
the Bishops.*

Bishops. Our Lord and
King, we beseech you to
pardon, and to grant, and
to preserve unto us, and
the Churches committed
unto our Charge, all Ca-
nonical Priviledge, and
due Lavv and Justice :
And that you will pro-
tect and defend us, as eve-
ry good King in his King-
dom ought to be Protector
and

and Defender of the Bishops
and Churches under their
Government.

K. With a willing and de-
vout Heart I promise and
grant you my Pardon, and
that I will preserve and
maintain you and the Chur-
ches committed to your
Charge, all Canonical Pri-
viledges, and due Law and
and Justice, and that I will
be your Protector and De-
fender to my power by the
Assistance of God, as every
good King in his Kingdom
ought in Right to protect
and defend the Bishops and
Churches, and their Go-
vernment.

Then the King arises out
of his Chair, and goeth to
the Altar, and there kneel-
eth upon the Steps, and ma-
keth a solemn Oath, each in
the sight of all that great
Assembly, to observe the
Premises, and laying his
Hand upon the holy Bible,
says,

*These Things which I have
here before promised, I will
perform and keep. So help me
God, and the Contents of this
Book.*

Hence it appears,

1. That they who administred the Coronation-Oath to the late King, left out the Provision in the ancient Oath for the Peoples enjoying St. Edward's Laws; being only concerned for the Church, according to what others have very lately declared.

2. They us'd a special Clause, added to the old Coronation-Oath, by virtue of which new Clause the King is bound not only to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government, (where they divide the National Church into as many Cantons as there are Bishopsricks) but he is forsworn if he do not preserve and maintain to them all Canonical Privileges; And if this be taken according to the former Part, where the King is oblig'd to maintain St. Edward's Concessions to the Church; 'tis a question how a Protestant King of this Realm could keep his Oath.

3. That which gives Countenance to Popish Church-Privileges, is required of a Popish King without any reserve, but the other which should secure Civil Rights, has a *Salvo* for Prerogative.

I may very well ask by what Authority the Coronation-Oath which the late King took, was administred, and desire to see that Act of Parliament, Record, or other Evidence of Antiquity which warrants it. If the like Form is to be found in the Book of Oaths kept by the Dean of *Westminster*, that I dare say equally shews the novelty of it.

If it be insisted on, that it is in the discretion of the Archbishop, and such other Bishops as he shall advise with, either to make or use a new Form; then I think they are equally inexcusable, in not taking as much care to secure the Protestant Religion under a Popish King, as they did for Church-Privileges, and for the King's protecting and defending Bishops, and the Churches under them; which he might do under Popery, with consistency to that Oath.

But great is *Diana*.

FINIS.

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